

## Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

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ALL MBFR CAPITALS 451

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACALNT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4091

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: ROMANIAN GENERAL STATEMENT TO MAY 16 PLENARY

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF GENERAL STATEMENT AS MADE IN ENGLISH  
MAY 16 BY ROMANIAN REP CONSTANTINESCU. BEGIN TEXT.

1. THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO DEVOTE ITS FIRST  
STATEMENT BEFORE A PLENARY MEETING OF THESE PREPARATORY  
CONSULTATIONS TO PRESENT THE MAIN GUIDELINES OF THE POSITION  
HELD BY THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA IN RESPECT TO THE  
QUESTION OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE,  
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INCLUDING ONE OF ITS COMPONENTS - THE REDUCTION OF TROOPS AND  
ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE - WHICH IS THE SUBJECT OF OUR DIS-  
CUSSIONS HERE.

2. IT IS THE FIRM VIEW OF THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT THAT IN APPROACHING THESE QUESTIONS, OR, AS A MATTER OF FACT, ANY MILITARY ISSUE RELATED TO EUROPE, ONE SHOULD PROCEED FROM THE RECOGNITION OF THE VITAL NECISSITY TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE AND EQUAL SECURITY TO ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS, AND FROM THE NEED TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE IN PRACTICE.

3. ROMANIA CONCEIVES OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A SYSTEM OF CLEARLY DEFINED AND PRECISE OBLIGATIONS, FREELY UNDERTAKEN BY ALL STATES, ASSOCIATED WITH CONCRETE MEASURES AIMED AT ELIMINATING THE RESORT TO FORCE OR TO THE THREAT OF FORCE IN INTER- STATE RELATIONS, PROVIDING EVERY COUNTRY FULL SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ANY AGGESSION, AND ENSURING PROPER CONDITIONS FOR EACH NATION FOR FREE DEVELOPMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS WISHES, AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR UNRESTRICTED CO- OPERATION ON THE BASIS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

4. THUS CONCEIVED, THE COMPLEX PROCESS OF ACHIEVING ERUOEAN SECURITY CAN IN WAY IGNORE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES FACING OUR CONTINENT, AND ABOVE ALL THE QUESTIONS OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMEMENT.

5. THE PROHIBITION OF FORCE AND THE TREAT OF FORCE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CLIMATE OF CO- OPERATION, UNDERSTANDING, AND PEACE BETWEEN ALL PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT ARE INTRINSICALLY TIED TO THE IMPLEMENT- ATION OF EFFECTIVE MEASURES OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMEMENT IN EUROPE AND IN SOME OF ITS SPECIFIC AREAS.

6. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH MEASURES IS, CONSEQUENTLY, AN INTREGAL PART OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. THE CREATION OF A DURABLE SYSTEM OF SECURITY IN EUROPE REQUIRES THE ADOPTION OF CONTRETE STEPS TOWARDS DISARMAMENT.

7. THAT IS THE REASON WHY ROMANIA ATTACHES PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO MILITARY ISSUES IN EUROPE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIER RESOLUTION IS OF INTEREST TO EVERY ERUOPENA COUNTRY, UNCLASSIFIED

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AND IT SHOULD BE THE RESULT OF THIER COMMON ENDEAVOURS, WHILE SAFEGUARDING THE INTERESTS OF EVERYONE.

8. IN AS FAR AS THE MANNER OF TACKLING DISARMAMENT ISSUES IN EUROPE IS CONERNED, THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT GELIEVES THAT WE SHOULD START FROM A BROAD CONCEPTION, AS THE ONLY ONE CAPABLE TO PRECISELY DEVINE THE OBJECTIVE OF EACH STEP, AND FROM THE NEED TO WORK OUT AND IMPLEMENT GRADUALLY A COMPRE- HENSIVE PROGRAMME OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT ON THE CONTINENT AS A WHOLE, AND IN ITS VARIOUS REGIONS.

9. ACCORDING TO THE CONCEPT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIAN, SUCH A COMPLEX AND COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME

COULD COMPRISE MEASURES LIKE : REDUCTION, AND FINALLY WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL BORDERS; DISMANTLING OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES; CESSATION OF MILITARY EXERCISES OR MANEUVERS, OF ANY DEMONSTRATION OF FORCE AND CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS ALONG THE BORDERS OF OTHER STATES; REDUCTION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES, STARTING WITH THE BUDGETS OF THE BIG POWERS, AND THE CESSATION OF THE ARMS RACE; GRADUAL REDUCTION OF NATIONAL TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS; ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR- FREE ZONES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF EUROPE, WITH AN UNDERTAKING BY THE NUCLEAR POWERS NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST THE COUNTRIES BELONGING TO THESE REGIONS; PREPARATION OF CONDITIONS FOR THE REMOVAL OF MILITARY BLOCs WITH THE VIEW TO THEIR FINAL ABOLITION.

10. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN WORKING OUT SUCH A PROGRAMME ANY OTHER PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD TAKE US NEARER TO THIS GOAL SHOULD BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED.

11. ROMANIA CONCEIVES THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROGRAMME AS A PROCESS TO BE COMPLETED IN STAGES, STEP BY STEP, AS PROPER CONDITIONS FOR EACH MEASURE ARE RIPE. LOOKING AT IT FROM THIS ANGLE, THE REDUCTIONS OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS - WHEREVER AND WHENEVER ACCOMPLISHED - IS BUT ONE OF THE MANY STEPS DESIGNED TO LEAD TO THE FINAL AIM: A EUROPE OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS, OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS CO- OPERATION BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATES, SAFE FROM ANY DANGER OF FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE.

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12. SIDE- BY- SIDE WITH THE MEASURES OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT, WE BELIEVE THAT ALL OF US MUST WORK VIGOROUSLY FOR ACHIEVING WITHOUT DELAY A BAN OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OF ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS- DESTRUCTION, FOR THE CESSATION OF THEIR PRODUCTION, FOR THE REDUCTION OF STOCKPILES AND THEIR FINAL ELIMINATION. WE CONSIDER THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DISARMAMENT MEASURES IN EUROPE, AS WELL AS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY, WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO GENERAL DISARMAMENT, AND TO STRENGTHENING PEACE AND SECURITY ALL OVER THE WORLD.

13. STARTING FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT ANY DISARMAMENT STEP IN EUROPE IS OF CONCERN TO ALL COUNTRIES OF THIS REGION, AND HAS MANY IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR SECURITY, ROMANIA IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE PREPARATION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME SHOULD BE THE RESULT OF THE CONCERTED EFFORTS OF ALL THESE COUNTRIES, AND ALSO OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. THEY HAVE THE RIGHT, AND THEY MUST BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY, TO

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ALL MBFR CAPITALS 452

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

17. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT ROMANIA APPROACHES ALSO THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTION OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT IS BASED ON THESE CONCEPTS THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS AND IN THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS, FOR, LIKE ALL OTHER STATES, WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE SOLUTION OF ANY QUESTION PERTAINING TO THE GENERAL ISSUE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

18. WE DARE HOPE THAT IN THE PROCESS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS BOTH NOW AND AT LATER STAGES, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION WILL BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS ITS VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO EVERY ISSUE UNDER DISCUSSION, TO MAKE OUR HUMBLE CONTRIBUTION  
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TO THIS COMMON ENDEAVOUR TO IDENTIFY, IN AN AUTHENTIC PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION, THE BEST SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS RAISED HERE.

19. NEVERTHELESS, I SHOULD LIKE TO UNDERSCORE NOW SOME OF THE MAIN POINTS OF MY COUNTRY'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS THESE DISCUSSIONS:

1/ AS IT IS KNOWN, THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED ITS DESIRE TO TAKE PART IN THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS AND

THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN TAKING THE DECISIONS, FOR MY COUNTRY DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE TO BE PARTY TO ANY AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS RELATED TO CENTRAL EUROPE. WE BELIEVE THAT TO BE THE PREROGATIVE OF THE COUNTRIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED. HOWEVER, WE INTEND TO CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY AND IN A CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER, IN CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS, TO THE SUCCESSFUL COUCOME OF THESE NEGOTATIONS AND TO THEIR EVOLUTION INTO PRACTICAL STEPS TOWARDS SECURITY IN EUROPE.

2/ IN WOUR VIEW, THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK, AND THE PROCEDURES MUST PROVIDE ADEQUATE CONDITIONS FOR THE HARMONIZATION OF THE EFFORTS, INTERSTS, AND POSITIONS OF ALL PARTICIPATING DELEGATIONS AS REPRESENTATIVES OF EQUAL, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATES. WITH THIS IN MIND, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION INTENDS TO PARTICIPATE TO THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ALL DELEGATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEACK AND TO PRESNET DOCUMENTS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER, WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION. NOW, WHEN WE ARE PRACTICALLY AT THE BEGINNING OF A LONG JOURNEY, WHICH, DESPITE ITS INHERENT DIFFICULTIES, WE PLAN TO MAKE TOGETHER, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO RECALL THAT, AS PROVED BY INVALUABLE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE, A MULTI-LATERAL NEGOTIATING BODY CAN FUNCTION PROPERLY ONLY TO THE EXTENT IT PROVIDES THE FRAMEWORK IN WHICH THE VIEWPOINTS AND THE PROPOSALS OF ALL PARTNERS HAVE THE SAME WEIGHT, WHEN DUE REGARD IS PAID TO THE OPINIONS OF EVERYBODY AND WHEN EVERY STEP ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF THOSE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS AND THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC OPINION. IF WE WERE TO HAMMER HOME THIS POINT, IT SEEMS TO BE EVEN MORE VALID IN THE CASE OF THE PRESENT TALKS.

3/ STARTING FROM OUR CONVICTION THAT ANY MEASURE OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT OR DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING THE REDUCT-ION OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE OR IN A CERTAIN AREA  
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OF THE CONTINENT, IS OF INTEREST TO ALL EUROPEAN STATES, SINCE IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IT HAS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL COUNTIRES, ROMANIA BELIEVES THAT ANY INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE TALKS AND TO PRESENT ITS VIEWS AND TO DEFEND ITS LEGITIMATE INTERESTS. FINDING THE APPROPRIATE WAYS TO ASSOCIATE ALL INTEREST EUROPEAN STATES TO OUR DISCUSSIONS, WOULD, IN OUR CONVICTION, INCREASE THEIR SUBSTANCE, AND ENHANCE THE VALUE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESULTS WE AIM TO ACHEIVE. WE THING THAT OPPORTUNITIES SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ANY INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATE TO PARTICIAPTE IN OUR DISCUSSIONS, TO ATTEND THE MEETINGS AND TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK AND TO PRESENT PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER. IN OUR MIND, SUCH PARTICIPATION WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR NO- ONE AND WOULD PRESENT OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES. THIS WOULD ALSO BE THE BEST PROOF THAT THE AGREEMENTS WHICH HOPEFULLY WOULD BE REACHED BETWEEN SEVERAL STATES WILL NOT BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE INTERESTS OF THE OTHERS, AND THEY WILL BE INDEED A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF EUROPE

AT LARGE.

4/ IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONCEPTS OF MY GOVERNMENT ON SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE, WE REGARD THE POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS ON THE REDUCTION OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AS BUT A FIRST STEP, LIMITED TO ONE AREA OF THE CONTINENT, IN THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF WITHDRAWING ALL FOREIGN TROOPS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THEIR NATIONAL BORDERS. TO RENDER PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE REDUCTIONS OF TROOPS FROM EUROPE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE UNITS TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM ONE COUNTRY OR AREA MUST ALSO BE DOMOBILIZED. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM ONE COUNTRY OR AREA BE RELOCATED IN OTHER COUNTRIES OR AREAS OF EUROPE, THUS INCREASING THE CONCENTRATION OF FORCES THERE AND LEADING TO NEW MILITARY ENCOUNTERS, AND NEW TENSION. THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT REGARDS THESE MEASURES NOT AS TRANSITORY ONES, BUT AS INGREDIENTS OF A BETTER CLIMATE AND OF A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPEAN STATES. SUCH MEASURES MUST HAVE IRREVERSIBLE CHARACTER, AND THEY MUST BE ASSOCIATED WITH AN UNDERTAKING BY THE PARTIES THAT IN THE FUTURE THEY WILL NO LONGER DISPATCH TROOPS ON THE TERRITORIES OF OTHER STATES.

5/ WHILE ATTACHING DUE SIGNIFICANCE TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS, ROMANIA BELIEVES THAT FURTHER EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE WITH THE VIEW TO SETTLING OTHER ISSUES OF EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT, UNCLASSIFIED

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INCLUDING THE CONCLUSION OF OTHER REGIONAL AGREEMENTS. OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IN THIS RESPECT COULD BE AN AGREEMENT ON A SUBREGIONAL LEVEL, SUCH AS THE ESTABLISHMENT IN THE BALKANS OF A ZONE OF PEACE AND CO- OPERATION, FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOREIGN MILITARY BASES. THE PROPOSALS OF THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT TO THAT EFFECT ARE WELL KNOWN, AND SO ARE ITS ENDEAVOURS TO EXPLORE WAYS AND MEANS TO DEVELOP A WIDE RANGE OF CO- OPERATION BETWEEN THE BALKAN STATES, INCLUDING AN AGREEMENT ON MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE SECURITY OF THIS AREA, TO DO AWAY WITH THE DANGER OF A MILITARY CONFRONTATION, AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO DETENTE AND PEACE IN EUROPE.

20. WE DO NOT PLAN TO SPEAK AT LENGTH AT THIS STAGE ABOUT THE ROMANIAN PROPOSALS IN THAT FIELD. LET ME JUST MENTION, THAT IN OUR OPINION THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE GOALS IN THE BALKANS MUST BE, FIRST OF ALL, THE TASK OF THE COUNTRIES OF THIS AREA. CERTAINLY, IF OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD ALSO EXPRESS THEIR INTEREST TO TAKE PART IN THE DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THE BALKANS - AS WE SHOWED OUR INTEREST TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON CENTRAL EUROPE - WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A SUITABLE UNDERSTANDING CAN BE REACHED.

21. THE DELEGATION OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA WOULD LIKE TO RENEW ITS DETERMINATION TO DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO CONTRIBUTE, IN CLOSE CO- OPERATION WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS, TO THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS AND THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS, SO THAT THE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN

THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED BE A GENUINE STEP LEADING TO  
DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE, AND ADVANCING THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN  
SECURITY.

22. IN CONCLUSION, MAY I EXPRESS MY DELEGATION' S GRATITUDE  
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA FOR THE CORDIAL HOSPITALITY GRANTED  
TO US, AND IN PARTICULAR TO OUR COLLEAGUES OF THE AUSTRIAN  
FOREIGN MINISTRY WHO DID AN EXCELLENT JOB IN PROVIDING OUR  
MEETING WITH MOST SATISFACTORY FACILITIES. END TEXT.  
MOWINCKEL

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**To:** STATE INFO SECDEF  
ALL MBFR CAPITALS  
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SALT TWO II

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